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FOREIGN EXCHANGES		
	Starting Rates July 21	Previous Closing Rates
Atlanta	2.3390-2.3490	2.3425-2.3490
Australia	22.47-22.52	22.74-22.77
Bombay	46.67-46.97	46.74-46.79
Calcutta	2.0025-2.0048	2.0003-2.0012
Ceylon	1.181-1.184	1.182-1.184
Deenmark	1.027-1.038	1.028-1.038
Germany	1.317-1.318	1.320-1.321
Holland	1.67-1.68	1.67-1.68
India	1.0724-1.0739	1.0729-1.0741
Italy	0.1813-0.187	0.181-0.187
Japan	3.58-3.59	3.58-3.59
Malay Peninsula	1.11-1.11	1.11-1.11
Norway	2.02-2.03	2.02-2.03
Philippines	2.0371-2.0401	2.0387-2.0401
Spain	1.10-1.12	1.09-1.11
Sweden	0.10-0.12	0.10-0.11
Switzerland	0.69-0.70	0.69-0.70
USA	0.6925-0.6951	0.6914-0.6931
Yokohama	0.021-0.0214	0.0211-0.0214

Mrs Thatcher immune from self-doubt

THE Conservative Party's election campaign will be highly personalised around the Prime Minister. That much she indicated in the second part of her interview with me. Her priorities, and particularly her personal desire to see the Labour Party, show no sign of diminishing either in their intrinsic potency or in the command they associate over party councils.

Would the election, I asked, be reduced in the end to a simple defence of the status quo, backed by the slogan 'Don't let Labour ruin it?' "Oh, much more than that," she replied. "It's all the positive things I believe in."

One of the most positive of all these things, however, is the unchanging wickedness of the Labour Party. Nothing arouses Mrs Thatcher's passion more than the thought of socialism and all its works.

Although she is proud of having changed the terms of the British political argument, and even of having encouraged a new consensus around certain aspects of economic policy, it appears that this development has in fact hurt her. Any rightward shift in the Labour Party, such as has been noticed by both the friends and the enemies of Mr. Kinnock, has escaped the Prime Minister's attention.

"It is more Socialist than any other Socialist party in Europe," she asserted. And she had her own instructive explanation for this. It was written into the Labour Party's constitution in the evolution of the Conservative Party towards the centre. The shade of Butskellism, curiously, was mentioned.

"From the moment that the Tory Party took over responsibility for the Welfare State, and it better than Labour because we were a sound financial background, the Labour Party had only one direction in which to go — further and further left."

Thus, in one sentence she raised as many questions as she answered.

Did she still, then, favour this Tory takeover of the Welfare State? "I don't know," she was trying to reverse. And if this was so, wasn't she pursuing policies that might even be likely to assist in Labour's return towards the centre, away from its own hard left? "No matter. She swept on. "If Labour were to get the they would have a higher proportion of extreme left-wingers than any Labour group I have ever seen in my 27 years in government. I've noticed them growing in the Parliament. Now extreme left-wingers are being selected to stand in many, many Labour constituencies, and they are getting elected."

A hate-figure is being readied for major electoral duty. Look at Bernie Grant in Haringey. What they are doing with the syllabus in schools, where these things are being taught to the children."

She began to tick off the register of Labour's iniquities. "You've seen the defence policy. Precisely what you are going to belong to Nato and reject its fundamental policy on nuclear. You cannot. It is absurd. That is sizes and awakens. Devastating to the freedom and strength of this country."

"Infatuation. The hatred is never won. It has to be re-won every year. And the battle is never won. It has to be re-won by firmness, by seeing that the numbers of police are available, that equipment is available, encouraging people to set up neighbourhood watches."

But wait a minute. Labour hasn't imposed any of that, has it? "In favour of law and order spending. Look at Gerald Kaufman. "Oh, more than Kaufman. You've seen some of the GLC things about the police. Well, we abolished that. Precisely no way has noticed. They fought it all the way, the abolition. No-one noticed it has gone. Go and look at

what they say about the police. Look at the Bernie Grant. Wapping, also, represented 'socialism in action.' "You've seen it on the picket line," she said. "Infatuation. You've seen the Labour Party, yes, we condemn violence. But they condemn the tactics which they know lead to violence."

So all in all, there has been no change in Mrs Thatcher's perception of the evil that confronts her. Way back in the 1970s, she committed herself to numerous extravagant statements about the indefatigable features of socialism and Marxism, and her

Second part of an interview with Hugo Young

view of the matter has not been altered by her years in power or the influence these might have had on the system.

"The essence of communism and extreme left-wingism," she says, "is the desire to control people's lives. They want this first because it gives them enormous power, and second because they think they can be controlled."

"They forget that what happens in every society is that it will dwarf and diminish people, and if you come to a nation which dwarfs its citizens you will find that, with small people, no great things can be accomplished."

And, since Labour, as previously argued, is actually run by its extreme left, Labour will bring this about. All those decent middle-of-the-roaders in the Shadow Cabinet are a kind of front organisation. They arrive in power and would not just be the swing of a pendulum newly calibrated on a different point of balance. "It would be disastrous. It would be the character of Britain."

Now is this inauspicious prospect confined to an avoidable future. I launched the Prime Minister into the subject of education. What, if

she got a third term, would this educational system look like at the end of it?

It was significant, I think, that the first thought in her mind was of the need for resources or even, indirectly, structures, but look into it, she said, in the end, it is the resources that count, not the structures. "We have got to get in many places, particularly the inner cities, alternative schools to some of those the local authorities are running. You know about political indoctrination in some of the inner cities. Well, I could show you books. They come to me. Parents come to me, they don't talk about it. They say please do not talk about it because they will take it out on my child at school."

Plainly the Prime Minister is much troubled about how to deal with this and is flitting with Continental ideas.

"I sometimes look at the Continent, where they have not only a core curriculum but a core syllabus. That would be an enormous leap for us to take, because my generation still recalls from having a system that any government could manipulate."

But times change. Some children are not getting a proper education. So: "What we are considering is whether we should take that step."

The problem was how to let the good local education authorities carry on, with some help taking over from the bad ones. Some were excellent, including, for example, Grantham, where, the day before, she visited her old school and "found its condition to be fantastic." But others were more menacing, an affront to central government's need to know where the system goes. "We don't even know whether it goes into education. It may go to indoctrination."

Like almost everything the Prime Minister says, this represents a genuine preoccupation. No, she has not put any of this in

paper because it sounded like the record of a hearing heard a hundred times before. But she came across eyes on the new American tape, an average rate of 16 per cent, a top rate of 27 per cent. "And our bottom rate is 29 per cent."

What if a prime objective to get this down to 25 per cent, as so often advertised? "She was probably right. It is an objective to try and get it down."

But like her doubts about exacting what to do with the schools, this was merely a tactical caution. Mrs Thatcher's singular political strength is that, when all about her are experiencing other agonies of choice or choice or choice, she is immune from all trace of the disease.

I asked her at the end whether, after seven years of conviction, she reckoned she had ever been wrong about anything. She was silent for a moment. "The voice within."

"Oh, I expect so," she said. "What, for example?" I asked. "Well... I really don't know. But... I am sure I will have been wrong about things."

"Have you changed your mind about things, even?" "Oh, goodness me... Some signs of things."

"You require notice of this question." She laid her hand on her chest. "I am sure I will have been wrong about a lot of things, because there is a lot of things in the world. Long puns. 'I am sure I will have been wrong about things, even?' "Oh, goodness me... Some signs of things."

As Neil Kinnock remarked the other day, that much is plain from his lifelong record of service to the Commonwealth. And it would be

The Queen wouldn't do such a thing

AS FAR as the Palace is concerned, this week was going to be quite a busy one. But she came across eyes on the new American tape, an average rate of 16 per cent, a top rate of 27 per cent. "And our bottom rate is 29 per cent."

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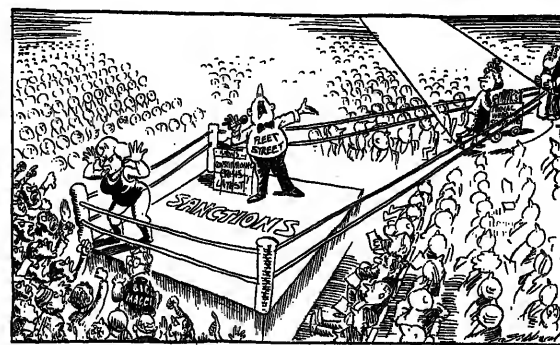
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...and in the purple corner, Ladies and Gentlemen, a surprise heavyweight contender...

No need to spell it out

"THE use of the Queen, in a dignified capacity, is ineluctable," said Walter Bagehot in his classic 19th-century book on the British constitution. It is certainly difficult to elude that influence now, even in the midst of what is alleged to be a constitutional crisis. The trouble is that only Mrs Thatcher knows what goes on.

Even by Whitehall's own high standards the weekly audience at Buckingham Palace can be said to be an extraordinary event. Ministers believe they get a hint from time to time. Occasionally a senior Westminster figure will come to a trivial piece of information not in conversation long ago. Former prime ministers write in to ask for advice on a point of high policy at some of the more informed discussions. But there is little more.

What is known is that the Queen is committed to the good health of the Commonwealth, and that Mrs Thatcher is pursuing a policy — at least in her interviews and public statements — which promises a coming calm. The result is that the Queen's role as sovereign, and her views as a long-serving player of the political game, are the subject of proper speculation. It is a matter, as Sir Robert Armstrong might say, that is back in the public domain.

The funny thing is that outside Parliament and Whitehall the Queen's influence on politicians, in a general way, is taken for granted but there is not much knowledge about how the system works. That is the effect indeed. The dignity of the monarchy is at least in the person of the Queen, who has not yet appeared with Terry Wogan to avert the approaching holocaust.

For most of the week, however, the Queen's position has been undecisively undecided. On the positive side, there can be no doubt that the action of the international banks in refusing to recycle South Africa's substantial overseas debts, earlier this year had a dramatic effect on the behaviour of the Republic's white business community, and through it on the behaviour of the British government.

But the consequences which followed, though real, were hardly substantial, and even they were not the result of a direct appeal from the state of emergency. Much of the negative evidence suggests the whites would fight rather than yield real equality to the blacks.

Of one thing I am absolutely certain, however. Whatever we eventually decide upon, we should not decide upon it merely to save the Commonwealth Games, or even to save the unity of the Commonwealth. Above all, we should not decide upon it to please P. W. Botha, or even the Queen.

His point, however, was that the Queen's own feeling towards the likes of Kenneth Kinnock might not be shared by the great British public. It is one thing to know that the Queen would not care for Mrs Thatcher much, and everyone knows she is a great leader on the subject of the Commonwealth. And it would be

By Ian Maitken

most value of the situation should not allow us to forget that there is, at the back of it all, a genuine issue of high policy at stake. That issue is not — unless things really get out of hand — the survival of the monarchy, but the future of our unwritten constitution. It is whether or not we ought to impose effective limits upon the powers of the Queen.

The real danger here is that the debate about this strictly political matter is no longer being conducted rationally. It has been turned into one of those litmus paper arguments which settle views on the individual and organisations are "progressive" or "reactionary," but without settling much else.

Assuming that most of us genuinely want to see an end to the current situation and let us generously give Mrs Thatcher the benefit of the doubt here the real subject of the discussion should be whether the Queen, who has not yet appeared with Terry Wogan to avert the approaching holocaust.

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wealth Office, as well as Downing Street and on a matter in which she must inevitably be directly involved — as in any Commonwealth row — the exchange of information is delayed, and constant.

What poses between Mrs Thatcher and her sovereign is not known. Mr. Wilson waits with Sir William in an ante-room while the weekly audience goes on. There is an extraordinary silence. Ministers believe they get a hint from time to time. Occasionally a senior Westminster figure will come to a trivial piece of information not in conversation long ago. Former prime ministers write in to ask for advice on a point of high policy at some of the more informed discussions. But there is little more.

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Soviets admit large areas uninhabitable

in Geneva, but he had shown that in the British during his weapons ban negotiation at several years. But present because of the summit, hopes to use it to reconcile differences, mainly negotiation. US nuclear test ban, sharp tension in the Union but did not be tentative p summit. and the test as "w

By our own Correspondants

ment Conference in Geneva, Mr Shevardnadze had shown considerable interest in the British initiative proposed during his visit.

A chemical weapons ban began earlier negotiation at Conference for several years. Finally, which at present by chairmanship of the commi directly involved, hopes to use pivotal position to reconcile standing difference mainly the question of verification.

Last week's US nuclear test Nevada provoked sharp censure from the Soviet Union but did not interfere with the tentative preparations for the summit.

Mr Shevardnadze said as "wiping up the clock of atomic debt and warned that "time was running out."

Spy gets life in effort to deter others

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By Peter Hlatt in Jakarta

INDONESIA's Environment Minister, Dr. Emil Salim, has said he expects the population to more than double in the next 30 years.

The world's fifth most populous country, Indonesia has enough problems coping with the 185 million inhabitants it has today.

Two thirds of twice that number is a grim one.

Quoted by the national news agency, Salim said that the population was expected to grow to 228 million by 2030, and not stabilize until 2080, when he said the country would be 358 million Indonesians.

What makes the difficulties even worse for the hard-pressed Indonesian government is that the overcrowded cities are growing faster than rural areas.

No one knows how many people

ten million — but already buckling under the weight of coping with them.

Buses crisscrossing the country are a pathetic sight for the over-burdened roads, the sleeping in buses, the street pavement being used as a place to build makeshift houses, the squalid conditions which

open sewers.

Salim said the problem is that while there are seawater may infiltrate drinking water supplies.

In the country, the almost as acute. The Indonesian peasants in the rural areas are suffering from social perils. Many cities, increasing population, underemployment, under-

The organizing body, Atiller 1469, is also proud that it has avoided the "son of luminaire" style of the 1960s, such as "grand ESPRIT" and "grand ESPRIT 2000."

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PRITORIA — "No armed struggle can win without Inkatha participation," warns Gatsha Mngochu Buthelezi. "There can be no political negotiations without our taking part in them. We are an inextinguishable presence in the struggle for liberation, from this position of strength we extend a hand of friendship to all, and we are anybody who may be tempted of resorting to brutal methods against us to think twice before acting. We can't say to what extreme black anger could lead."

This anger is that of the Zulus whose six millions add up to South Africa's biggest black tribe. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is Minister of the KwaZulu homeland. He presides over the destinies of this autonomous Bantustan inhabited by the descendants of the formidable warriors who once gave so much trouble to British soldiers and Boers in search of new land.

Inkatha is only the political name of the Zulus, the KwaZulu and Chief Buthelezi, this descendant of the armed revolution who handles words as efficiently as the sword. He is a British-born in an old cultural movement that Buthelezi revived from its ashes in 1976 and today it has a membership of a million. This great grandson of King Cetshwayo, who acquired renown by inflicting a severe defeat on British troops in 1879, is in sole control of Inkatha and uses it as a ready instrument for furthering his political ambitions.

The 57-year-old Zulu leader, whom his father named Mangosuthu, has a reputation to be true "when he was named of his birth, Inkatha" by tradition the birth of the Zulu nation, that is, the "continent of the sky".

It is not surprising that Buthelezi is unwilling to be reduced to the level of a tribal chief for he considers himself a national leader as well as the 40 per cent of Inkatha members who he claims are not Zulu. Without a doubt Chief Buthelezi does occupy a political position both in South Africa and the world. Western statesmen appreciate him as a central, a moderate and legitimate leader touching a middle-of-the-road line between extreme positions.

But his supporters tend to come largely from the rural areas rather than the cities. Mark Orkin, a sociologist, says an opinion poll he conducted that "even in his own territory (in Natal province) he represents a minority." It is hard to say what percentage of the black population Inkatha represents because of the very nature of the movement, which people are religiously free to join of their own accord, but in fact he is coerced into doing so if they happen to live in Zululand.

Set up in 11 segments of the population, Inkatha has a semi-military structure. The Amabutho — which do not hesitate to use force to bring recalcitrants to heel, its youth brigades are the "army". Buthelezi is a picture of their leader and took part in parades at meetings of the movement.

Inkatha holds all the elective KwaZulu legislative assembly seats and is above all perceived as a Zulu movement, even if its chief represents a broader segment of black thinking and the liberation struggle.

In spite of his academic appearance — spectacles, beard and a

Hostility between the two wings of the black political opposition to the government of South Africa has taken a turn for the worse with the charges recently made by Chief Gatsha Mngochu Buthelezi, the leader of 4 million South African Zulus, that the African National Congress (ANC) had "ordered his assassination".



Buthelezi "Blacks will be totally crushed by sanctions".

'No victory without us' says Chief Buthelezi

By Michel Bole-Richard

subtly which he from time to time unveils for a leopard skin and cap on festive occasions — Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a political animal. He gives his opponents as good as he gets; he travels around the country and the world spreading his ideas and speaking about his fears. His platform is to abolish apartheid, get rid of the three-chamber parliament, free Nelson Mandela and the political prisoners, legalise all political organisations, draft a new constitution and hold elections in which all South Africans would take part. It is a firm opponent of apartheid, he has consistently rejected independence for KwaZulu which consists of 44 treaties of land scattered throughout Natal province. "It is an illusion to imagine there will be peace, stability and economic growth without getting rid of apartheid and making substantial political changes," he says.

For yet he has been unsuccessfully asking the government to draw up a timetable of reforms. The authorities do however try to carry favour with a man who is the symbol of peaceful dissent because of the real or alleged weight he is said to carry with ethnic Zulus.

But the South African authorities will not accept the prerequisites for dialogue — the release of Nelson Mandela whom the KwaZulu leadership regards as a Zulu movement, even if its chief represents a broader segment of black thinking and the liberation struggle.

In spite of his academic appearance — spectacles, beard and a

will be totally crushed by the collapse of the economy." A former ANC colleague of Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela before the Congress opted for violence after it was banned in 1960, Buthelezi has to this day not stopped campaigning against violence, for he believes this will never help to achieve liberation. "History has shown that men who use terrorism to seize power will use it to oppress the people," he says and adds that on this point he is in agreement with the South African authorities.

As an advocate of free enterprise, he pointed out that "in Africa, where socialist theories have been put to work, nowhere have they permitted improving the lot of ordinary people." A controversial figure, accused of nepotism, occasionally of being a "puppet of Pretoria" and a "traitor to the cause" of the anti-apartheid struggle, he is still not something to be relegated to the prop department. Buthelezi, however, more fervently with his direct political rivals the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF), then with the white government.

It is a political struggle which sometimes turned into pitched battles, as happened in August 1985 in Durban when 70 persons were killed in the course of a clash between Inkatha members and UDF activists.

The opposition is making a showing in every sector, including the labour union sphere. On May 1 Buthelezi presided at the launch of a labour union federation, the

the hills on which their holdings were located. It is with the landless peasants that Gabriel Garcia is planning to form his rebel army: a country which had long not known what hunger was, where each farmer had his plot of land or found it along the roads. He is higher land concentration. Seated on a stool before him, Gabriel Garcia spoke of his "hunger for justice". He is a young man driven to a youth to get himself an education. And he has come back speaking even better, in the neighbourhood of a well-known ill-fated Marxist.

Between Gabriel's sweeping activism and the peasants' bitter reality. This is not something, of course, that you ask the colonos to do. It is the role of the official Communist Party with which Stresemann and the army have held the country in their grip for three decades and more. The young leaders of the Peasant Movement, an organisation built upon the ruins of the Agrarian League where the Church had taken the initiative but which were wiped out by the 1976 crackdown. The few of his comrades working with him, he says, are the ones who escaped torture and death. He admits the government has carried out agrarian reform which the authorities say has benefited 100,000 peasants. He is now, settled on land that is largely public property. But, says Gabriel Garcia, because there were no credits, the new landowners do not prosper, and have abandoned

(July 9)

UWUSA (United Workers Union of South Africa) aimed at countering the influence of COSATU (Confederation of South African Trade Unions) which is close to the UDF. Buthelezi is accused of splitting the black community and playing into the hands of the authorities. The more open mind he has about South Africa, which was ruled until the former regime. As was the case on the question of the sharia (Islamic law), which was one of the causes of the conflict, the military have shown remarkable passivity during the transition period towards a civil government.

It took them two months to get to the point of taking in touch with rebel leader Colonel John Gengah. The division of the South into three distinct regions in June 1983 by Nameri has not been questioned. The 1972 Addis Ababa agreement, which put an end to 17 years of civil war between the North and the South, did however stipulate that the province of Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria constituted a "united and autonomous" region. In the last months of the Nameri decision — at least on paper — to divide the South into three regions.

Accordingly, no sooner did the military seize power in April 1985 than they ordered the reconstitution of the High Executive Council (HEC) which was to govern the autonomous region or provinces for the Addis Ababa agreement. This is what has happened, and the three theoretically reunified regions have been split into three military zones and provided with military governments consisting of a commander-in-chief and a minister. Once again, the advocates of carving up the province of Equatoria have carried the day. Solving to the blacklists, the Transitional Military Command (TMC) did nothing to try to impose its authority. The eight members, two of whom are from Equatoria, have in this way been relegated to doing nothing on the top floor of the central post office building in Khartoum during the whole of the transition period.

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The Washington Post

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KwaNdebele and Bophu
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the last
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The Washington Post Libyans Subdued

IT IS THREE MONTHS since President Reagan set planes against Libya, and now is being taken (with crossed fingers) of the subdued policy of Col. Muammar Gaddafi. No new acts of terrorism have been attributed to him. Some suggest that his murders have been taking a break or otherwise lying low before resuming their deadly trade. Another line of speculation, bolstered by reports of Col. Gaddafi's personal deterioration, is that the American attack may have broken his invigorating assumption that he could be a co-terro.

All this is very interesting, but what is very important is that the interval since the April 16 raid has been put to good effect by the Western allies. Most of them needed the shock. The example of decisiveness, the undeniable precision of the intelligence, the subsequent demonstration of Libya's isolation and, not least, the full intention: these elements have put new vigor into European responses. Even Greece, the one ally that shrank from its antiterrorist commitments, has been finding its way back to reduce the Libyan presence in its outsize Albanian embassy, Libya had 19 "cultural attachés" and to screen more effectively the comings and goings of Col. Gaddafi's minions.

Beyond the police and intelligence front, attention fixes on the courts. Their basic mission is to serve justice, but they are also asked to serve governments that are under heavy pressure either to reclaim hostages or otherwise to propitiate the state or organizational sponsors of terrorism. The one mission drive courts and other official agencies to be tough, and the other pushes them to be lenient. The Italians have just given substantial sentences to the Achille Lauro killers. Spain, apparently for exchange purposes, has freed two Shites serving 23-year sentences for murder. In France the force of public opinion on behalf of the country's remaining hostages taken in Lebanon seems to be leading to the consideration of releasing a terrorist, George Abdallah, accused in the murder of an American military attaché and an Israeli diplomat.

Each situation is unique, but it is worth noting the disposition evident in London. Britain needs no more collisions with Arab terrorism. Nonetheless, even while French officials receive Syria's vice president, British authorities have directly implicated the Syrian government in the killed plot in the incredibly foreshadowing manner. This has triggered a major veto to destroy an Israeli ally in April. Since then, President Hafez Assad seems to have had his killers on a short leash too.

A Boom In Trouble

AT THE beginning of the year, there was a broad consensus among forecasters that the U.S. economy would grow strongly in 1986. The Reagan administration thought so, as it always does, but other people with no political interests agreed. And yet the growth rate last winter was only modest, and the outlook for 1986 is less than rosy. The optimists still expect an acceleration over the summer and fall, but the evidence for it seems increasingly fragile. Where did last January's promising forecast go wrong?

The most serious of the disappointments has been in foreign trade. The foreign sector has become a substantial and persistent source of error in American economic forecasting, not only within the administration but among independent scholars as well. The reason is that the United States has never before run trade deficits on the present gigantic scale. Experience is the basis for economic analysis, and in this case there is very little experience to go on. Beyond that, the government's statistics on foreign trade are notoriously unreliable and apparently are getting worse as the Commerce Department tries to save money on its obsolete reporting system.

More important, there's been a central failure of policy (not on the part of the Reagan administration this time, but by the Japanese and especially the Germans) that is contributing to poor economic performance here. Last winter most American economists assumed that, as the U.S. dollar's exchange rate fell, Japan and Germany would respond rationally with forceful action to speed up their own economies and keep trade expanding worldwide. Instead they have done very little. As a result Germany has slowed down, and Japan is evidently going into a recession. It means that there is less demand for American exports than the United States expected six months ago. If this slowdown develops into a world recession next year, Japan and Germany will bear a heavy share of the responsibility for it.

In this country the government published figures this week showing that retail sales have been rising steadily while industrial production is actually lower than last year. The latter is a disturbing sign, especially if the explanation is that the foreign trade deficit is the cause of the problem. Because production is falling, there's plenty of spare capacity in the American industry, and businesses have been cutting back new investment. Business investment is one of the main engines of economic growth, and falling investment is not a healthy sign. As long as the trade deficit remains high and business investment continues in this country, or in the world.

The Civil War Of Black Against Black

Continued from page 18

have" from young radicals.

The black-on-black racism lies at the heart of the now state of emergency, which the government says is imposed to restore order and end the rampant intimidation that terrorizes the black community in many of South Africa's black townships. But churchmen like Bishop Desmond Tutu and UDF leaders like the late Chief Buthelezi and the arrests of at least 4,000 activists, many of them with UDF affiliations, have been the opposite effect by taking off the streets.

They were still around. But we're all in hiding or in jail."

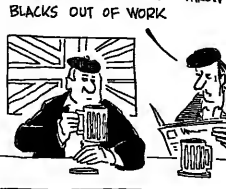
Manbuko and other UDF leaders also are being interviewed in downtown Johannesburg, where they have been in hiding from the security police for several weeks, described how youths were enforcing a new rent by going from house to house and threatening elderly residents with burnings if they pay.

"We've got to stop this thing else there could be the end of the UDF. They wouldn't do this if members of the Soweto Civic Association were still around. But we're all in

THATCHER IS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA...



BECAUSE SHE SAYS THEY'LL THROW BLACKS OUT OF WORK



THAT'S PROGRESS, ISN'T IT?



THAT SHE'S WORRIED ABOUT THROWING PEOPLE OUT OF WORK



British Crisis Of Identity

LONDON — "Who are we?" That the Queen has probably never asked her royal prerogative to raise so elementary a question with her prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, in one of their regular weekly chats is of no moment.

The question is ever-present here. It colors every conversation with British officials. It is encapsulated in the bitter British debate about South Africa, with Mrs. Thatcher presenting herself as the senior statesman of the Western world, making global waves while her oppositionaries over Britain being old men.

The same question compounds, more broadly, the deep divisions within the ruling Conservative Party and within the opposition — as well as the warfare between them. More so than at any time since World War II, the British are in the grip of an identity crisis.

The route run to the collapse of empire and to Britain's protracted game-playing in the formative years of the European Community, before finally joining up (the early ambivalence lingered), they run to the value placed by some, including Mrs. Thatcher on a cherished "special relationship" with the United States and an independent British nuclear capability, and the resentment felt about British dependence on Washington's will and whim.

To these tugs and hauls, add the Communist menace and the UDF's challenge to the nation's identity, you have the makings of something of the nature of a national nervous breakdown, with various consequences, some of which are already being felt. The symptoms are everywhere.

Item: The immediate worry over

hiding or in jail."

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THE GUARDIAN, JULY 27, 1986

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HMS Coventry The Day Of Battle

By David Hart-Dyke

HMS Coventry

FOUR years ago, my ship, HMS Coventry, went to war in the Falklands Islands. The ship never returned; it now lies 300 feet down in the South Atlantic. The men who survived learned some fundamental things about themselves and about war.

The Falklands conflict showed that, as always in war, the critical factor is morale. High morale is the quality which makes men endure and show courage in times of fatigue and of unpredictable enemy morale, comradeship and devotion to a just cause.

The British task force had all these ingredients off to a flying start in 1982, and the enemy did not. Our men never doubted that they would win and they could not wait to start the battle and to get home after the victory. That is what made the Falklands such a total triumph.

Oddly, the most testing and frightening time for me was the period before the conflict started, as we sped south and prepared for war. It was a time of sobering self-examination and adjustment. Somehow you do have to remove yourself from the safe and familiar world of peace and come to terms with the largest and most complex of all dangers and violence. I found this far more

The days of not knowing whether we had to fight or not — of listening to the BBC giving the latest reports on the chances of successful negotiations — were unnerving, mentally exhausting and for most people extremely hard to take. I suppose it was because we feared to go to war and to leave our safe and friendly world, maybe for ever. These days were hard for me because I had to remain outwardly unafraid and cheerful in order to provide that much-needed strength of leadership for my ship's company. My men began to watch me more closely and listen to every word I uttered, so that any hint of weakness in my armor would have been immediately exposed to anxiety and even, perhaps, reduced their will to fight. Their lives were in my hands

Ellen Goodman

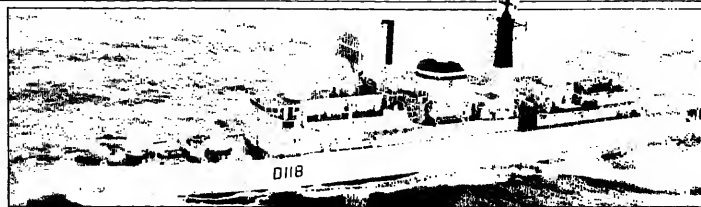
BOSTON — There was no official birth announcement. No television crowd recorded the event. No one plumed the plumes of birth or whether the baby was a boy or girl.

If by the calculations of The Population Council in New York, it is right, sometime on Monday last, a baby was born who brought the total number of human beings on Earth to a new record. We can be sure that such a record doesn't hold very long, not even for a minute. By last week the 6-billion baby will have been joined by another child.

By the end of the year there will be 85 million more people about this whole planet of view. I grown by a single inch. We cannot add acres to the Earth's surface, the way we add rooms to a house, to accommodate new members of the human family.

It took us 1830 for the Earth's population to reach the 1 billion mark. It took 11 years to reproduce the last billion. There may be 3 billion more of us by 2021. And we still don't know exactly how many people this planet can sustain.

Several UDF leaders believe that, despite differences in ideology, it is time to conclude a truce with Buthelezi to cut down on black deaths. They say they are seeking to arrange a private meeting with the chief.



and I could feel it. As the chances of a political settlement slipped away and war seemed a real possibility, we became somewhat concerned. A mood of anxiety pervaded the ship. There was also the traumatic experience of many of preparing the ship for war, securing for action, for real. The issue of morale, lifeboats, and identity discs to wear around the neck, together with the removal of pictures, trophies, and soft furnishings made a dramatic impact. Letters from home, thoughts of family and friends, heated messages and telegrams waiting for good luck and a safe return all added to the tension and highlighted the risks ahead.

After three weeks of worry and uncertainty, it finally came as a great relief when it became clear that there was no option left but to fight. Our anger mounted against the harsh and unpredictable enemy morale rose, and we became united in a man in our purpose. The first-heat became strong, the ship's company as a whole stiffened to the task, and we went leading into battle, confident and outwardly at least, cheerful. For myself, I was particularly thankful that I had had a long experience at sea in destroyers and frigates. I was confident and did not find it difficult to go to war. I was surprised how very quickly the excitement, the pace, the inhibitions and thinking many rules and regulations became irrelevant. My life suddenly became very different and my mind crystal clear. They were aimed solely at getting at the enemy and surviving, and they concentrated your mind on essentials.

One essential to grasp very early on is that you are on your own. It is no use worrying the flagship with your problems or expecting a spare part to appear out of the sky to overcome this or that defect. You have to fix things yourself. We somehow found our long-range radar in the middle of an air raid by using the elements of a toaster from the junior ratings' dining room. We used the steel legs of swivel chairs to bolt the floor of the helicopter to provide revolving machine-gun mountings.

As we approached the war zone, the dangers and the challenges seemed to produce a step-up in ability overnight in most people. Young sub-lieutenants found themselves running the ship while refuelling alongside a darkened tanker in the blackest of nights and in the darkest of weather, and they did magnificently. The first lieutenant often took command of the ship for a few hours in the night so that I could get some sleep.

This was a new experience for us all and until the first disaster occurred we could not begin to imagine what the horror of war was really like. Besides, there is always the hope that it will never happen to you. Really such as this, however fragile in reality, are very strong in war: they actually keep you going, however dangerous the fighting might be, and they prevent you from anticipating or imagining what disasters could befall you, or indeed what the real risks are. This is a genuine state of mind which I suspect prevails among all but the really war-hardened.

The first few days of war were nervously exciting and chakra erupted throughout the ship when enemy aircraft were shot down. But we did not yet see real war, we were naive and far from being battle-hardened. The real conflict started when we began to suffer losses ourselves. Attitudes then changed, our excitement was replaced by a more measured and mature. We were quite close to HMS Sheffield when she was hit and the effect on my ship's company was very dramatic. Suddenly, in the next few days, 24 hours and people had to struggle to overcome their fears and emotions.

At the end of that day my petty officer steward came up my cabin and with noticeable emotion remarked, "It has been a bad day today, sir," and I replied, "Yes, it has been a bad day." That is all we could say and that was difficult enough. It was hard to stand without giving away one's fears, and our minds were too occupied. We were stunned.

This incident shook us into reality and we began to realize how difficult it was going to be to bring our ships close to the enemy air force and land the army with all

living in concord with the Earth and man and working it. A species that has controlled its death rate can still control its birthrate. The experts ask whether Earth can support a billion more. A much harder question for this birthday is whether 5 billion people can support the Earth?

Five Billion People, One Earth

human stamp on it. Nature is no longer our overlordly habitat. We visit it, we conquer it. It is even as tourists to nature, we queue for a trip up the Colorado, we drive to the Grand Canyon, we put up a parking lot next door and pay admission. When we save nature, it is carefully done. We can preserve and tree museum.

I once passed a stretch of land in North Dakota, owned by the U.S. It was so unique that it was protected and pointed out as virgin prairie. In California last month, I visited a park of giant redwood, a sacred dendras ago from lumberjacks. On a trail well-tended and well-kept in its forest, I had to imagine what it was like to be alone in a thousand-year-old grove without a rented car and a redwood stand.

It is rare to feel like one of many species on Earth. Rare when we experience a sense of belonging to the landscape. Rare when we come to assure not to own it or develop it but to let it be. We are so many, so diverse, that we have lost the sense of our own species.

Even in our country, where there is no longer a population explosion, it is increasingly hard to find some place that doesn't have a

its equipment safely on the beaches of the Falkland Islands. This was, after all, the only way to win the war. We were now rapidly becoming battle-hardened. Twenty-four hours after that first tragedy, we were no longer gloomy, morale turned to a high point, and we became even more determined to hit back at the enemy just as soon as we could.

Thoughts of getting home to a hero's welcome are highly motivating, and I became neatly aware that nearly 300 people were depending on me to get them home safely. I told them that my hobby was bookkeeping from the 4th of August and so we would have to be lucky by then; out of this statement rose an almost mystical belief that no matter what happened, we would get back by this time — because the Captain had said so.

After Sheffield was sunk and HMS Glasgow put out of action, we shouldered more of the hazardous tasks. We were frequently deployed to the front line against the enemy air force and to protect the vital amphibious shipping in San Carlos Water. Our task was to control the Sea Harriers carrier jet fighters as to get them poised in the right place to meet the incoming air raids and to use our Sea Dart missiles. It was clear that we had to draw the enemy fire away from our troops and to be sacrificed if necessary.

We only saw our friendly forces to the east of the Falklands and were re-committed in the middle of the night. We always felt safe among the familiar dark silhouette of the task force on these occasions, but when we came to leave to return to our solitary post, we had to steel ourselves to do so and hide the fear at what the next day's battle might bring. When we had survived the daytime and darkness came to give us some measure of protection, I used to sit down in my cabin with a glass of port, a King Edward cigar and a Mozart symphony. That was sheer heaven!

During these last few hectic days we all knew that we were against an emerging uncalculated. We always knew that we might

Continued on page 18

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